# Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SSM-03 TRSE-00 ACDA-07 OMB-01 OES-06 HEW-04 AID-05 /130 W

R 201847Z APR 77

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6700

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 2930

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: WHO, PFOR, IS, XF

SUBJECT: ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE IN WHO

REF: (A) GENEVA 2682; (B) GENEVA 2806; (C) STATE 080321

SUMMARY. CHARGE MET WITH WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO) DIRECTOR GENERAL MAHLER APRIL 19 ON THE ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE IN WHO AND MADE TO HIM THE POINTS TONTAINED IN REF (C). MAHLER DID NOT ARGUE WITH THESE, BUT PROVIDED US WITH HIS OWN PRESENT ASSESSMENT THAT THIS ISSUE WOULD APPREAR TO BE A MANAGEABLE ONE AT THE MAY ASSEMBLY. HE EXPECTS TO HAVE A CLEARER PICTURE OF THIS A WEEK HENCE CONFIDENTIAL

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FOLLOWING FURTHER CONSULTATIONS. THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, CONSIDERATION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO US REPRESENTATIONS, FIRST IN TEL AVIV, AND PERHAPS THEREAFTER ELSEWHERE. END SUMMARY.

1. CHARGE, ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL COUNSELOR AND HEALTH ATTACHE, MET WITH WHO DIRECTOR GENERAL MAHLER APRIL 19

AND, READING FROM INSTRUCTIONS, MADE TO HIM THE POINTS CONTAINED IN STATE 080321. MAHLER LISTENED CAREFULLY, AND RESISTED NONE OF THE POINTS MADE. IN RESPONSE HE INDICATED THAT THE MAIN CONSIDERATIONS THE US HAD WITH RESPECT TO THE HANDLING OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE AT THE ASSEMBLY IN MAY WERE THE POINTS UPPERMOST IN HIS OWN MIND. HE EXPECTS TO MEET NEXT WEEK WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OAU, THE NON-ALIGNED, WITH ARAB MINISTERS, AND WITH OTHERS. BY THE END OF NEXT WEEK, THEREFORE, HE HOPES TO HAVE A BETTER PICTURE OF THE PROSPECTS FOR THE ASSEMBLY.

2. MAHLRE FIRST PUT THE PROBLEM INTO CONTEXT AS HE SEES IT. HE WAS HUMOROUSLY REPENTENT ABOUT HIS HANDLING OF THIS QUESTION DURING THE YEAR LEADING UP TO THE PREVIOUS ASSEMBLY, QUIPPING THAT HE AND THE SECRETARIAT HAD INVOLVED THEMSELVES TOO FULLY WITH AN INTEREST IN GETTING THE STUDY OF HEALTH CONDITIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES PERFORMED "TOO WELL" WITH THE RESULT THAT THE COMMITTEE'S (REMARKABLY OBJECTIVE) REPORT WAS REJECTED OUT OF HAND BY THE LAST

ASSEMBLY. HE REMARKED SOMEWHAT RUEFULLY THAT A BETTER POLITICIAN DELIBERATELY WOULD HAVE DONE "LESS WELL" ON THE REPORT, POINTEDLY COMMENTING TO US THAT "THEY HAD ASKED FOR MY RESIGNATION LAST TIME." THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE IN WHO IS AN ANNLYANCE TO MAHLER, THOUGH CLEARLY A VERY IMPORTANT ONE. CHARACTERISTICALLY TURNING THE PROBLEM BACK UPON OTHERS, HE REMARKED TO US THAT EVERYONE PREACHES THES THE NEED TO KEEP POLITICS OUT OF ORGANIZA-CONFIDENTIAL.

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TIONS SUCH AS WHO, BUT AS SENITIVE ISSUES EMERGE EVERYONE IS QUITE AS PERSISTENT ABOUT PRESSING SECRETARIES GENERAL TO TAKE POLITICALLY DICTATED COURSES OF ACTION.

3. THEN PICKING UP ON OUR POINTS, MAHLER AGREED THAT IT WAS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT AT THE PRESENT JUNCTURE OF EVENTS TO AVOID ANY EXTREME CONFRONTATION AT THE WHO ASEEMBLY. HE CITED THREE CARDINAL REASONS FOR THIS FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW: (A)IN THE FIRST PLACE, THIS MUST BE AVOIDED FOR THE SAKE OF WHO RELATIONS WITH MEMBER GOVERNMENTS -- AND ESPECIALLY WITH THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION (WHICH APPEARED TO HIM TO HAVE BEEN SENDING HIGLY SUPPORTIVE SIGNALS TO WHO); (B) WITH THE FAIRLY CRUCIAL ILO ANNUAL CONFERENCE TO FOLLOW IN JUNE THIS WAS NOT A GOOD TIME TO "CREATE A SYNERGISTIC EFFECT" BETWEEN DEVELOPMENTS AT WHO AND ILO CONFERENCES, AND (C) ANY SUCH DISRUPTION WOULD PREJUDICE THE ABILITY OF THOSE SCANDINAVIANS NOW SEEKING TO HAVE THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AWARDED TO WHO. (THIS LAST IS A NEW CONSIDERATION TO

US.) HE ADDED THAT A FOURTH REASON MIGHT BE THE COMPLICATIONS WHICH THIS COULD INTRODUCE INTO THE ORGANIZATION AT A TIME WHEN THERE IS A "GREAT MOVEMENT" UNDERWAY TO BRING ABOUT "PROFOUND CHANGE" IN THE DIRECTION OF WHO -- A REFERENCE TO THE NEW POLICY AND STARTEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF WHO TECHNICAL COOPERATION (GENEVA 2828).

4. AS MAHLER ASSESSES THE SITUATION AT PRESENT, HE
DOES NOT FORSEE AN "EXTREME" RESOLUTION COMING FROM
THE MAY ASSEMBLY, BUT QUALIFIES THIS ASSESSMENT BY NOTING
THAT LAST-MINUTE DEVELOPMENTS COULD ALTER THIS CALCULATION.
HE WELCOMED OUR FORTHCOMING DESIRE TO COOPERATE WITH HIM
IN THINKING ABOUT STEPS THE USG MIGHT TAKE TO INDUCE

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 $C\ O\ R\ R\ E\ C\ T\ E\ D\ C\ O\ P\ Y\ \ (TEXT\text{--PARA\ NINE})$ 

THE OUTCOME WE BOTH REASONABLY MIGHT DESIRE, BUT THOUGHT ON BALANCE THAT US INVOLVEMENT -- FOR INSTANCE IN APPROACHES IN CAPITALS AT THIS STAGE -- SEEMED TO HIM PREMATURE, AND

HE SPECULATED THAT IT COULD GIVE SOME OPPONENTS SOMETHING TO GRAB AT. (HE LEFT THE IMPORESSION THAT US ACTIVITY ON THIS PROBLEM IS ONE OF THE FACTORS HE WATCHES AND WORRIES ABOUT.)

5. MAHLRE STRESSED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE PROBLEM WAS NOT BEING PROMOTED IN WHO BY THE PLO, BUT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTS THE US COUNTS AMONG CONFIDENTIAL

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FRIENDLY ARABS. DRAWING UPON HIS CONTACTS WITH PLO REPRESENTATIVES, MAHLER ASSERTED THAT THE PLO SEEKS WHO HEALTH SERVICES TO PALESTINIANS, AND NOT RESOLTUIONS IN WHO ASSEMBLIES. HE MAINTAINED THAT IT WAS HIS CONVICTION THAT THE PLO PLAYED A MODERATING INFLUENCE IN ARAB COUNCILS ON WHO ISSUES.

- 6. MAHLER INFORMED US THAT THE THREE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS WILL CONVENE IN GENEVA APRIL 25 TO PREPARE THEIR REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE FORESAW THIS BEING AN "INTERIM REPORT" SETTING OUT NOTHING BUT THE FACTS OF WHAT HAD TRANSPIRED UNDER THE MANDATE OF THE COMMITTEE SINCE THE LAST SEEMBLY. HE EXPECTED THAT, ON THE BASIS OF THIS "SITUATION REPORT," THERE WOULD BE A NEW RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY IN MAY, BUT NOT AN EXTREME ONE. MAHLER THOUGHT IT ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN THIS CONNECTION THAT ISRAEL NOT ARGUE IN THE ASSEMBLY ABOUT THE LATENESS OF THE COMMITTEE'S REQUEST TO VISIT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. ON THIS POINT, HE TAKES THE POSITION THAT ISRAEL WAS NOTIFIED BY THE MAY 1976 RESOLUTION OF THE REQUIREMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS TO VISIT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THEREFORE, AS MAHLER DESCRIBED IT TO US, THE JANUARY 7 LETTER TO ISRAEL WAS SIMPLY A "REQUEST FOR VISAS" TO DO SO.
- 7. FROM WHAT WE CAN LEARN FROM THE ISRAELI MISSION AND MAHLER, THE ISRAELI AUTHORITIES RESPONDED TO THE JANUARY 7 LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE WITH A REQUEST TO BE INFORMED ABOUT THE "MODALITIES" FOR SUCH A VIST, AND THIS LED TO THE APRIL 6-7 MEETINGS IN GENEVA WITH THE ROMANIAN MEMBER (GENEVA 2682). IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS RAISED AT THAT MEETING FROM THE ISRAELI SIDE THE COMMITTEE HAD DEFINED THE HEALTH "INDICES" IT WISHES TO MEASURE AND HAS ELABORATED UPON THE "MODALITIES" FOR THE VISIT IN A FURTHER LETTER DATED APRIL 7 (ADDRESSED TO THE ISRAELI MINISTRY OF HEALTH DIRECTOR GENERAL MENCZEL AND SENT VIA CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ISRAELI MISSION). THE ISRAELI MISSION CHARACTERIZED THE TONE OF THE APRIL 7 LETTER AS "PRETTY HARD"; MAHLER, ON THE OTHER HAND, DESCRIBED IT TO US AS STRAIGHTFORWARD, OBJECTIVE, AND ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH THE COMMITTEE'S MANDATE AND TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS. THE ISREELI RESPONSE TO THIS LETTER PROBABLY WILL CLOSE THE PRE-ASSEMBLY EXCHANGE, WHICH IN ITS ENTIRETY WILL FORM THE BASIS FOR THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS' REPORT TO THE ASSEMBLY. THIS IN TURN WILL PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR WHATEVER ACTION THE ASSEMBLY TAKES.

8. THE TIMING AND CONTENT OF THE ISRAELI RESPONSE TO THE APRIL 7 LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE NOW BECOMES IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, IN THE STAGE-SETTINGS FOR HANDLING THIS ISSUE AT THE ASSEMBLY. PRESUMABLY SOME DISSATISFACTION WILL BE FELT ABOUT THE SLUGGISH PACE WITH WHICH THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS MOVED, AND HOPEFULLY THERE WILL BE SOME SYMPATHY FOR ISRAELI DIFFICULTIES IN RECEIVING A VISIT AT A LATE DATE AND DURING A PRE-ELECTION SITUATION. IT APPEARS FAIRLY CERTAIN, MOREOVER, THAT THE COMMITTEE WILL GIVE ONLY AN "INTERIM" REPORT TO THIS ASSEMBLY. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE FORESEE SOME TOUGH LANGUAGE, PERHAPS, BUT NO EXTREME ACTION.

9. GIVEN THESE MODERATING FACTORS, IT WOULD SEEM TO US THAT THE BEST STEP ISRAEL MIGHT TAKE NOW WOULD BE TO RESPOND TO THE APRIL 7 LETTER IN A WAY WHICH: (A) IS POSITIVE IN PRINCIPLE TO AN EVENTUAL COMMITTEE VISIT; (B) OFFERS, IF POSSIBLE (AND THIS MAY BE TOO MUCH BEFORE A NEW GOVERNMENT IS FORMED), A SUGGESTED TIME-FRAME FOR THIS; AND (C) AVOIDS ARGUMENTATION ABOUT THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE COMMITTEE IN ITS APRIL 7 LETTER WITH RESPECT TO "INDICES" AND MADALITIES" (THESE BEING CONSIDERATIONS INJECTED BY ISRAEL AND NOT FOUND INTHE COMMITTEE'S MANDATE). THIS WOULD SERVE WHAT APPEARS TO US TO BE THE PREFERRED STRATEGY OF MAKING IT AS CONFIDENTIAL

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DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE FOR THE ARABS TO COALESCE AFRICANS AND OTHERS IN FINDING ISRAEL TO BE THE TARGET UPON WHICH TO VENT FRUSTRATION AT THE DISAPPOINTING RESULTS. THIS APPEARS TO US TO BE AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION. THE APRIL 7 LETTER, AS IT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED TO US, LOOKS TO BE A CALCULATED EFFORT BY THE LATE-STARTING COMMITTEE TO PLANT THE BALL INTHE ISRAELI COURT AS IT PREPARES ITS "INTERIM" REPORT.

10. THE MISSION DOES NOT SHARE MAHLER'S QUALMS ABOUT

US MEDIATION IN CAPITALS ON THIS ISSUE (PARA 4, ABOVE)
AND RECOMMENDS (A) PROMPT INITIAL CONSULTATION IN TEL
AVIV ABOUT ISRAELI INTENTIONS, AND AN EFFORT TO MOVE
ISRAEL IN THE DIRECTION OUTLINED IN PARA 9 ABOVE, AND
(B) FOLLOW-UP DEMARCHES IN OTHER SELECTED CAPITALS AS
THEN MAY APPEAR IN LIGHT OF ISRAELI INTENTIONS AND
SUBSEQUENT REPORTING TO BE INDICATED. SORENSON

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